

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00

PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ISO-00

NSC-05 H-02 CU-02 IO-10 OIC-02 DODE-00 EURE-00 /079 W
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P R 221600Z AUG 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3202

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5433

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4460

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE: IMPLEMENTATION

REF: A. STATE 191457 (NOTAL)

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B. USNATO 3410 (NOTAL)

C. STATE 125154 (NOTAL)

D. MOSCOW 5822 (NOTAL)

1. WE CARRIED OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN REF A BY LETTER DATED AUGUST 18 TO ACTING SYG PANSA WITH COPIES TO PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES. SYG'S OFFICE HAS INFORMED US THAT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA OF THE FIRST POST-AUGUST BREAK MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC) (WHICH WILL POSSIBLE BE SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 3, BUT MORE LIKELY ON SEPTEMBER 10).

2. WE HAVE DISCUSSED INFORMALLY WITH A NUMBER OF ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES THE ROLE WE FORESEE FOR NATO BOTH IN COORDINATING EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE PROVISIONS AND IN PROVIDING A MECHANISM TO ASSEMBLE AND EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION. WE HAVE FOUND ONLY ENTHUSIASM FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS, AND AGREEMENT WITH OUR VIEW THAT NATO IS UNIQUELY QUALIFIED AS A FORUM IN WHICH TO UNDERTAKE THESE EFFORTS. WE HAVE NOT YET DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT WITH FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES, HOWEVER.

3. OUR CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EC-NINE ALLIES --EXCEPT THE FRENCH --INDICATE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE FEELING AMONG THE NINE THAT CSCE FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE CONCURRENTLY IN THE EC'S CSCE POLITICAL SUB-COMMITTEE AND IN NATO. SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE DUTCH NATO DELEGATION, FOR EXAMPLE, GAVE FOLLOWING REASONS IN FAVOR OF CONCURRENT WORK IN BOTH FORA:

DUTCH FAVOR EC CONSULTATIONS BECAUSE:

(A) CONSULTATION ON CSCE IS AN AFFIRMATIVE FORCE IN OVERALL NINE EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THEIR POLITICAL COOPERATION;

(B) THE NINE WISH TO PRESERVE THE CSCE POLITICAL SUB-COMMITTEE MECHANISM WHICH HAS WORKED WELL AND WHICH WILL BE USEFUL IN PREPARATION FOR 1977 FOLLOW-UP PHASE IN BELGRADE;

(C) THIS IS THE BEST MEANS OF BRINGING THE FRENCH ALONG, OR AT LEAST LIMITING THEIR ABILITY TO OBSTRUCT.
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ON THE OTHER HAND, DANISH FAVOR NATO CONSULTATIONS BECAUSE:

(A) THE ORIGINAL WESTERN EUROPEAN APPROACH TO CSCE WAS PREDICTED ON THE NEED TO INCLUDE THE NORTH AMERICANS. THERE WOULD BE NO POINT TO EXCLUDING THE US AND CANADA NOW;

(B) IN EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE PROVISION, WEST EUROPEANS ALONE WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE SHARPLY LIMITED INFLUENCE. DUTCH ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT CONCURRENT NATO AND EC-NINE WORK ON FOLLOW-UP, ALSO FOR THESE ADDITIONAL REASONS:

(A) THE CONCURRENT APPROACH WORKED WELL IN PRE-STAGE III

CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIES;

(B) IT WOULD ENABLE EC POSITIONS TO BE DISCUSSED IN NATO AND DUTCH SEE NO REASON WHY NATO VIEWS COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED IN EC DELIBERATIONS.

4. DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL (SEE REFS B AND C) THAT ON JUNE 17 WE CIRCULATED IN THE NATO POLITICAL COMMITTEE A PAPER ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AFTER CSCE, BASED LARGELY ON A MOST USEFUL ANALYSIS FROM EMBASSY MOSCOW (REF D). THIS PAPER WAS VERY WELL RECEIVED BY ALLIES AND IT STIMULATED A NUMBER OF RECIPROCAL ALLIED CONTRIBUTIONS, INCLUDING TWO RECENT ONES FROM THE FRG AND THE UK, CIRCULATED AND DISCUSSED AT THE AUGUST 19 MEETING OF POLADS (SEE SEPARATE AIRGRAMS - NOTAL). ON AUGUST 19, US REP (LEDOGAR) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR ALL THE ALLIED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE POLADS WORK ON SOVIET POST-CSCE FOREIGN POLICY AND, REFERRING TO THE US LETTER ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION (SEE PARA 1 ABOVE), SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY STUDY SHOULD BE SUBSUMED IN THE LARGER CSCE IMPLEMENTATION EFFORT. IN THIS CONNECTION, US REP RECOMMENDED THAT FOLLOWING NAC CONSIDERATION OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP, THE MANDATE FOR THE ON-GOING STUDY SHOULD DESCEND TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WHICH WAS ALREADY WORKING ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CSCE AND WHICH WAS WELL QUALIFIED TO ASSUME THE OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS EFFORT. A NUMBER OF ALLIES SUPPORTED THIS AND UK REP REQUESTED POLADS CHAIRMAN TO INFORM SYG LUNS THAT, IN COMMITTEES OWN VIEW, IT IS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NATO FORUM MOST SUITED FOR LONG-TERM CSCE IMPLEMENTATION CONSULTATIONS.

5. COMMENT: MISSION WILL CONTINUE CORRIDOR WORK IN REMAINING DAYS OF AUGUST PREPARATORY TO FIRST NAC MEETING OF THE AUTUMN SEASON. WE AGREE WITH MUCH OF DUTCH REASONING REPORTED IN PARA 3 ABOVE IN FAVOR OF CONCURRENT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION CONSULTATIONS IN BOTH NATO AND EC FORA. WE SEE THESE TWO CONSULTATIONS AS: (A) BOTH COMPLEMENTARY AND SUPPLEMENTARY, (B) THE BEST COMBINATION OF PROCEDURES TO NEUTRALIZE FRENCH POTENTIAL FOR OBSTRUCTIONISM, AND, (C) AN ARRANGEMENT THE US WOULD HAVE ONLY LIMITED POWER TO PREVENT, EVEN IF WE WISHED TO.

6. THERE REMAINS THE PROBLEM OF IRISH ACCESS TO NATO CLASSIFIED CSCE INFORMATION, BUT WE DO NOT SEE THIS AS CAUSING SERIOUS DIFFICULTY, AND RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZE US TO CONCUR IN DUTCH OR OTHER PROPOSAL THAT AUTHORIZATION BE GIVEN TO NINE TO PASS SUCH INFORMATION TO IRISH ON UNDERSTANDING IT WOULD BE SAFEGUARDED APPROPRIATELY.

7. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS THAT DEPARTMENT AND OTHER ADDRESSEES MIGHT HAVE.
BRUCE.

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BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST

DUBLIN
HELSINKI
MADRID
MOSCOW
NICOSIA
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